ministration in reference to the Territories of New Mexico and California, the constitutional rights of the South therein, and the probable consequences of their violation.

Admonished by the history of this Government, which is a narrative of aggressions by the North upon the South—of faith broken and compromises diaregarded in the onward career of power—I do not feel that it is a narrative of a southern Representais incumbent upon a Southern Representative to offer any measure for the adjustment of existing difficulties. I have no more peace-offerings to lay at the feet of power, to be indignantly apurned. If a returning sense of justice should at any time actuate the majority to propose a settlement consistent with our rights and honor, they cannot doubt its ready acceptance. Until that time, the appropriate discharge of my duty will lead me to expose the devices of fraud, to resist the assaults of power, and to defend the South, by whomsoever assailed.

The message of the Executive distinctly announces the policy of the Administration.

announces the policy of the Administration. This policy has been adopted after the most This policy has been adopted after the most thorough investigation, and is presented to us as the final result of long and anxious reflection. Coming from the highest functionary known to the Constitution of the country, it claims from this House a candid and dispassionate consideration. The influence of an executive recommendation is fluence of an executive recommendation is usually all powerful; like the whistle of Rhoderic Dhu, it rallies a whole clan to its support. But, in the present case, ominous signs of discord are already apparent on the other side of the House; and its seems that the present Executive is doomed to the fate of the unfortunate Actieon, who was torn to pieces by his own hounds. Whatever may be the fate of his author, however, or the views of members in regard to the details of the policy suggested, a majority of this House will concur in its most important recommendation.

This message changes the aspect of This message changes the aspect of a sectional question; it supersedes an old issue and presents a new one. The "Wilmot Proviso" is no longer the question of the day; it has given place to the "California Proviso," which is presented to this House and the country with the unqualified endorsement of the Executive. It is important that the people interested should be advised of this change and the motives which prompted it. The open defiance of the South to the Wilmot Proviso," and the sternly expressed determination to resist i "at all hazards and to the last extremity," have awakened the Union-loving propensities of this administration and its Northern supporters. The representatives of the North, with the exception of a few "distinctive Free-Soilers," are willing to abandon—nay have already abandoned—the "Wilmot Proviso," and all are coming, in unbroken phalanx, to the support of the Ex-South will resist the Wilmot Proviso, characteristic discretion they recede. Or the other hand, the South are not committed against the present admission of California as a State, and it is believed that, with the whole power of this Administration exerted in its favor, and by an invocation to the party prejudices of our people, the Aministration party every where will support that measure; and thus, by a division of our strength, (which was irresistible, when united against the Wilmot Proviso,) the South will be powerless, and submission the California proviso inevitable. I am for the union of the South, in support of the Constitution and of the rights which descended to us by inheritance; but there is only one basis of union for Southern men-opposition to the declared policy of the pre-sent Administration, which seeks to build up an imperishable power on the ruins the Constitution and the South.

No argument is necessary to show identity of these two measures. The Wilmot Proviso excludes the citizens of the South with their property from emigrating to the Territories of the Union, and appropriate the common property of the several sovereignties composing the Union to the exclusive use and occupation of the people of the non-slaveholding States, and is enacted by Congress primarily. The California Proviso is the same thing, literally and in substance, incorporated into a so-called constitution, and Congress is recommended, by the present admission of California, to enact it secondarily. The message clearly as-sumes that the people of the slaveholding States have no rights in these Territories, and recommends the latter measure, from obvious reasons of political expediency, as the preferable mode of exclusion. In the opinion of the Administration, the question new is, not whether the South shall be excluded, but in what manner it shall be done. I must be permitted to decline the discussi e issue; to insist upon my right to be heard upon the merits of this question and to protest, in the name of the Souther people, against this prejudgment of their claims.

ance of a proclamation declaring the Mexi-can law to be in force; laying off the country into districts, and calling upon the transient adventurers who had been lured thither to elect delegates, to assemble in convention for the formation of a constitution, prepara-tory to its admission, as a State, into the Union. But Riley is a plain, blunt old sol-Union. But Riley is a plain, blunt old soldier, more competent to the work of demolishing than of organizing communities; and of these territories for actuated principally be tive that military and civic greatness are not always inseparable. To consummate the designs of the cabinet, secundem artem, Mr. King, then a member of Congress elect from Georgia, was instructed to follow General

Riley. The message informs us that—
"With a view to the faithful execution of the treaty, so far as lay in the power of the Executive, and to enable Congress to act at the present

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Washington, Thursday, June 27, 1850.

The accompanying letter of Mr. Craw

"You are fully possessed of the President's riews, and can with propriety suggest to the people of California the adoption of measures best calculated to give them effect."

If any doubt exist that the initiatory pro-If any doubt exist that the initiatory proceedings of Riley were approved by the Cabinet, or that he only did what King was authorized to do by the carte blanche of Mr. Clayton, I need only refer to the extract read by the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. Seddon]—the first from the communder of the pacific station, as follows:

"The steamer Edith has been sent to Mazatlan for the necessary intelligence, and, on her arrival with information that no other than a revenue law had been passed, General Riley issued a proclamation for the election of the necessary executive and judiciary officers under the existing laws, and recommending, at the same time, the election of delegates to a convention to form a State Constitution. Mr. King arrived at the time these proclamations were about being issued, and it was matter of great congratulation that the Government, by anticipation, had approved of the latter measure. Every means will be used to give the people of California an opportunity of expressing their wishes on this point, and of bringing the matters to a happy conclusion."

The second from a dispatch of the Secretary of War to General Riley, dated August 24, 1849 :

"WAR DEPARTMENT, August 24, 1849.

"In view of the exercise of the most important political right which appertains to the people of California—that of forming a constitution and asking admission into the Union of these States—this Department has watched with great care and solicitude the steps already taken to effect these objects. Regarding your proclamation of the 3d June last as a notice intended in part to render popular action uniform in respect to the desired organization into a more perfect government, it is seen, with great satisfaction, that your propositions had been accepted with great cheerfulness and alacrity, except in few instances, where it is supposed selfish and unpatriotic motives prevailed.

"GEO. W. CRAWFORD. "WAR DEPARTMENT, August 24, 1849.

"GEO. W. CRAWFORD, Secretary of War.

"Brevet Brig. Gen. RILEY, "Monterey, California.

But, as more conclusive than all else, refer to the following extract from the proclamation itself:

"The method here indicated to attain what is desired by all, viz; a more perfect political organization, is deemed the most direct and safe that can be adopted, and one fully authorized by law. It is the course advised by the President and by the Secretaries of State and of War of the United States, and is calculated to avoid the innumerable evils which must necessarily result from any attempt at illegal local legislation. It is therefore hoped that it will meet the approbation of the people of California, and that all good citizens will unite in carrying it into execution.

"Given at Monterey, California, this 3d day of June, A. D. 1849.

"Bt.Brig. Gen. U.S.A., and Gov. of California.

"Official: H. W. HALLECK. "The method here indicated to attain what

"Official: H. W. HALLECK,
"Bt. Capt. and Sec'y of State."

The verbal and confidential instruction given to Mr. King are not imparted in the facility and certainty by looking to his acts and declarations, which are presumed to accord therewith. The pregnant sentence last quoted evidently refers to "views" not expressed in the written instructions, and which the Administration deemed it expedient to reserve as a part of the hidden history of this transaction. From various sources, official and unofficial, we are advised that Mr. King approved of the plan of operations originated in the proclamation of General Riley, urged on their rapid execution, and in a few months after his arrival in California, the transient adventurers in San Fran cisco and its neighborhood elected delegates in conformity with the requirements of this proclamation, who speedily thereafter assembled in convention and adopted the constitu tion which the President says, "I earnestly recommend may receive the sanction of Con-

gress." We have strong reasons to believe that the "proviso" incorporated into this constitution was approved by Mr. King, who was understood to speak by authority of the Administration in support of its views, and who could "with propriety suggest to the people of California the adoption of the measures best calculated to give them

But this is of little importance in measur-ing the responsibility of the Cabinet. The Constitution of California has been published by the press of the country, and is accessible to all. The Cabinet have duly considered its provisions. They know that a few thousand trancient adventurers, allured by the auri sacra fames, from every quarte of the globe, to the shores of San Francisco and Sacramento, have, without the authori grees of latitude on the Pacific, with to first magnitude, and embracing all that is valuable for mining, commercial, or agricultural purposes within the Territory of California. And after an assertion of sovreignty over this national acquisition—less

The origin of this policy may be seen in the movements of General Riley early in the preceding year. His first act was the issu-Pizarro upon the fallen throne of the incompanies of the convention adopted a fundamental clause, forever excluding the people of the its occupancy. With a full South from its occupancy. With a full knowledge of the adoption of the slavery restriction on the Constitution of California, the President "earnestly recommends that

so" by Congress might occasion " hitter and angry dissensions among the people of the United States," the Californians were advised to adopt it. Their right to do so is considered unquestionable, because "every State has the right of establishing and from time to time altering, its municipal laws and domestic institutions." The first statement assumes that the Southern people only object to a certain form of exclusion, and will acquiesce in every other that the Cabinet may suggest and the Californians adopt;

the second, that California is a State with full sovereignty, when in fact it has not yet been advanced to the rank of a territorial spendency of the Union.

When the people of California, after a attable period of territorial tutelage, and in ursuance of an act of Congress, assemble in prevention to adopt a constitution, they will possess the power, "under the general principles of the Constitution," to determine their own domestic institutions. But the scheme to exclude the people of half the States of this Confederacy by the present population now roaming over that Territory, is in conflict with the whole spirit of the Constitution, and ought not "to receive the

sanction of Congress."

From all the facts disclosed, it appears that the present State organization of California is the mere creature of a Cabinet intrigue, designed to relieve the present Executive from either an approval or a veto of the Wilmot Proviso. I have no hesitation in asserting, that the policy recommended is more obnoxious to the South than the mersure it was intended to supersede. The Wilmot Proviso is a bold and open exercise

of power by the Congress of the United States, which has the admitted right to legislate for the Territories, subject to the restraints of the Constitution; while the people who have assumed to incorporate the same proviso into the constitution of California have no color of authority to legislate for any purpose or to the most limited ex-

The several States composing this Conederation acquired an indefeasible title to the Territories of California and New Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the ratifications of which were exchanged on the 30th of May, 1848. The several States, or the people thereof, became joint tenants of this common domain, entitled to equal rights therein, which the Federal Government, as the agent of all, is under the highest obligation to protect. In accordance with this obligation, it devolved on the last Congress to extend over it Territorial governments, which would invite the emigration of American citizens, with their property of every description, from every section of the Union. But the prevailing conflict of opinions and passions was fatal to harmonious action. Congress expired without the exercise of its legitimate au-thority over the Territories, leaving them ritory, as they existed at the conclusion the treaty, regulating the relations of the in habitants with each other, not in conflict with either the Constitution or the treaty .-The termination of the war left a govern ment de facto in full operation, competen to administer the laws, until a more effective government could be provided by Congress Upon that subject, Mr. Buchanan says:

Upon that subject, Mr. Buchanan says:

"In the meantime the condition of the people of California is anomalous, and will require on their part the exercise of great prudence and discretion. By the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the military government which was established over them under the laws of war, as recognized by the practice of all civilized nations, has ceased to derive its authority from this source of power. But is there, for this reason, no government in California? Are life, liberty, and property under the protection of no existing authorities? This would nia? Are life, liberty, and property under the protection of no existing authorities? This would be a singular phenomenon in the face of the world, and especially among American citizens, who are distinguished above all other people for their lawabiding character. Fortunately, they are not reduced to this sad condition. The termination of the war left an existing government—a government de facto—in full operation; and this will continue, with the presumed consent of the people, until Congress shall provide for them a territorial government. The great law of necessity justifies this conclusion. The consent of the people is irresistibly inferred from the fact that no civilized community could possibly desire to abrogate an community could possibly desire to abrogate an existing government, when the alternative presented would be to place themselves in a state of anarchy, beyond the protection of all laws, and reduce them to the unhappy necessity of submitting to the dominion of the strongest."

This was the condition of California an New Mexico when the present Administration succeeded to office, on the 4th of March

I now proceed to inquire what were the duties of the Executive in relation to these territories? Under our form of government, the President possesses neither legislative nor judicial power. The Constitution dis tinctly defines the several departments and the appropriate functions of each, vesting in the President powers purely executive:

"The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America."

"The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States."

"He shall take care that the laws shall be faith-

fully executed."

We have seen that a government de facte was in We have seen that a government de facte was in operation, with full capacity for the preservation of order and the efficient administration of the laws. It was his duty, to the extent of his power, to maintain the existing government until Congress exerted its paramount power to abrogate it, and to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." The Constitution was "the supreme law of the land;" and if it had been faithfully executed—if the great principle which it embodies of equal rights to all the citizens of the several States of this confederacy had been recognized and enforced in that territory—a slaveholding people would now and forever hereafter control its political destiny. But, instead of sustaining the government de facto, the first movement of the Administration was to send out an emissary to overnment de Jacto, the list increment and definition was to send out an emissary to instigate its overthrow. Instead of taking care "that the laws be faithfully executed," the Constitution, which is "the supreme law of the land," has been contemptuously disregarded, and the

Verily, Mr. King has discovered that there is more potency in a Cabinet authorization than in a commission derived from seventy thousand freemen of Georgia; that it is better to serve one than many meeters.

commission derived from seventy thousand freemen of Georgia; that it is better to serve one than many masters.

If the past history of our country had furnished no precedents to guide the Administration, its interference in the affairs of California would excite less surprise, and might be charitably imputed to a misconception of its powars. But at least two cases—strictly analogous—are indelibity impressed upon our records; one (the acquisition of Louisiana) under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, in 1803; the other (the acquisition of Florida) under that of Mr. Monroe, in 1820—both of the first magnitude in their day, cuttled now to the highest importance as precedents, because their consideration elicited all the wisdom and virtue of their respective eras, and, more than all, because they were established under the administration of "our earlier Presidents," in the purer and better days of the Republic. Both were acquisitions of territory from foreign powara, settled by a foreign population, and acquired by a treaty of cession as in the present case, and were subject to the same laws, viz: the Constitution of the United States, the treaties of cessions, and the private local laws, not in conflict with either. Did Mr. Jefferson send a political emissary to Louisinna to advise the contented Creoles, numberingabout 90,000, to rise up in defiance of the powers of Congress, and establish a revolutionary government subversive of the government de facte? If they had done so, would he have "earnestly recommended" to Congress the immediate admission of that immense territory, containing an area of more than 1,100,000 square miles, as one State into this Union? On the contrary, Mr. Jefferson called Congress together on the 17th of October, 1803, Gree weeks earlier than the day fixed by the preceding Congress, and submitted the country to its jurisdiction.

A similar policy was pursued by Mr. Monroe,

A similar policy was pursued by Mr. Monroe, who followed the illustrious example of Jefferson from which the present Cabinet, though pledged to imitate our "earlier Presidents," has been the first to depart. I repeat, "the first to depart, anotwithstanding the inferences which may be drawn from the following sentence of the mes-

"It is understood that the people of the western part of California have formed a plan of a State constitution, and will soon submit the same to the judgment of Congress, and apply for admission as a State. This course on their part, though in accordance with, was not adopted exclusively in consequence of, any expression of my wishes, inasmuch as measures tending to this end had been promoted by the officers sent there by my predecessor, and were already in active progress of execution before any communication from me reached California."

california."

Very true. Riley was sent to California by the preceding Administration; but his proclamation was not issued until the arrival of King, and it was ascertained that the present government had, "by anticipation," approved of that measure If King's instructions had conflicted with Riley's programme of organization, of course the proclamation would have been suppressed; for King was at once recognized by the public functionaries in that distant province as the bearer of the Sultan's firman, from whom there was no appeal, and no alternative but obedience or the bow-string. The present Cabinet dare not make the charge directly that Mr. Polk gave countenance to the scheme which has been so successfully carried out under their administration. They can only venture to say that measures tending that way had been promoted by officers sent there by Mr. Polk, from which some may draw the inference that he approved the course adopted by his own subordinates. If made directly or inferentially, I should feel authorized, from an examination of the subject, to regard it as a craven aspersion of the character of that eminent states man, whose fame is now the fame of his country, of which you, and I, and all of us are the guardians.

In his annual message of December 25th, 1848.

vocation and untramelled by the restrain political expediency, his opinion on the subj the Wilmot Proviso was proclaimed to Con with the notification that the enactment wo resisted by the Presidential veto. At the san time, he urged that it was "the solemn duty Congress to provide, with the least practicable lay, for New Mexico and California, regul lay, for New Mexico and California, regular organized territorial governments." Congre was further admonished of the danger of dela and earnestly invoked, for the sake of the Unio

and earnestly invoked, for the sake of the Union to adjust at its present session this, the only dangerous question which lies in our path."

These recommendations are too plain to be mistaken or misrepresented, and are, in effect, a disclaimer on the part of the Executive of legislative. claimer on the part of the Executive of legislative power, and a reference of the subject to Congress for its adjustment; they are a condemnation "by anticipation" of the proceedings of Riley and King, and an unanswerable refutation of the views of the present Cabinet. The whole policy of President Polk may be summed up in a few words. the immediate adjustment of this question by Con gress without the Wilmot Proviso. This was an gress without the Wilmot Proviso. This was announced in his first message after the acquisition of those territories, with singular felicity and power, and reiterated in each succeeding one with an earnestness of feeling and a force of argument which increased with the imminence of the danger. A recurrence to the action of the late Executive is gratifying to his friends. He did not look for the rules of his conduct to selfish expediency, but to the unchanging principles of the Constitution. He did not rely upon a concealment of his opinions for the success of his Administration, but upon a thorough understanding of himself, his motives, and his principles, by the great mass of his countrymen. It was his characteristic to meet motives, and his principles, by the great mass of his countrymen. It was his characteristic to meet danger with heroism, and to grapple with the passions and prejudices hostile to the Constitution and the Union, and overpower them by the irresistible force of truth. In vivid and sublime contrast with his successors, he sought safety neither in a concealment of opinion or postponement of action. I am happy to believe that his countrymen, forgetful of past party divisions, are now paying to his memory the tribute of their admiration and gratitude; that his posthmous fame is undarkened by the mists which surrounded its morning beams.

ing beams.

An Administration which shuns responsibili An Administration which shuns responsibility practises concealment, and resorts to the cunning devices of political expediency, cannot long survive the public contempt. The present one, no yet a year old, wears the aspect of effete and imbecile sensitive. In the hour of its conception the seeds of death were planted in the heart of the embryo, and the throes and agonies of its partial ration, were unmistakely exidences that the heart of the conception of the sensitive sensitive that he were unmistakely exidences that the heart of the conception of the sensitive sensitiv embryo, and the throes and agonies of its parturition were unmistakable evidences that they had germinated and would speedily fructify into a har vest of death. The living principle of popular support no longer gives sustenance to its tottering decrepitude. Its recommendation of inaction, it reference to the question which of all others demands immediate action, springs from a consciousness of weakness, and is the wall of the sick old man, who here for renow when the deeponing

ness of weakness, and is the wail of the sick old man, who begs for repose when the deepening shades of eternal night are closing around him. But the hiss of human passions by this querulous appeal cannot be hushed. Events roll on, casting their lengthened shadows before them, threatening, in their unchecked course the destruction of the Constitution and the Union.

I trust that the remarks I have felt constrained by a sense of duty to make, touching the proposed policy of the Administration, will in no degree be attributed to partisan opposition. My object is to discuss the question of the rights of the South in the Territories of California and New Mexico, its present aspect—to show that the Wilmot "proviso" has been susperseded by the Executive recommendation, which the South may and will defeat, if they meet it with firm, united, and determined resistance, Regarding this as a practical question, I shall insist not only upon the abstract right, but the actual usufruct of the South in this common property; and I acknowledge no party

they are joint tenants. To those who are dispose

they are joint tenants. To those who are disposed to resist my views, I commend a more attentive reading of that instrument. They will find that it not only guarantees slavery where it exists, but provides for its extension. In the States where slaves existed, they were made the basis of apportionment and taxation, thereby contributing two of the great elements necessary to republican government, viz: representation to express its voice, and money for its support.

To extend the institution indefinitely, it probibited the passage of any law to stop the importation of slaves from Africa, and elsewhere, prior to the year 1808. Another clause, with a view to its perpetuation forever, provides for the re-capture of fugitives who escape to non-slaveholding States. Notwithstanding these plain stipulations between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, constituting the essential, vital provisions of the Constitution, without which all admit the Confederation could not have been formed, we are cantingly told that "slavery is a sin, and the North is opposed to its extension." "We, the philanthropists of this day, are better than the sages and heroes, purified by the trials of the Revolution and covered with its glories, who assembled in the old hall of the Confederation in 1787." I have no reply to make to these pharisaical pretensions; they are beneath contempt. I am content with the religion of the Bible, and the Constitution of our fathers, uncorrupted by the comments of the pseudo moralists and statesmen who now sked their coruscations upon us. I shall certainly not condescend to reply to the puling sophistry upon this subject, so often heard in this House. Were I disposed to argue the question of slavery, without reference to the Constitution, in all its relations, religious, moral, social, and political, no fear of its successful vindication would restrain me. It would seem to be profanation to call an institution of society irreligious or immoral, which is expressly and repeatedly sanctioned by the word of

of antiquity, and is inseparably connected with the arts and arms, the science and literature, the paint ing and statuary of Greece and Rome—upon which was erected a civilization which lit up the ancient world, and now illumes our own! But it ancient world, and now illumes our own! But in our country we have the most striking and bril-tiant illustrations of the benefits of slavery, in the vast areas redeemed from the wilderness, where malaria forbade the emigration of whites, and which now teem with the production of Southern staples; in the large amount of valuable exports, the product of slave labor, which freight the keels of commerce to every harbor of the world, and

staples; in the large amount of valuable exports, the product of slave labor, which freight the keels of commerce to every harbor of the world, and bring in return imports of corresponding value; in the individual prosperity and happiness of our people, without example in any other social organization; in our political stability, where no armed police is necessary for the suppression of mobs, and the mace of the civil magistrate is omnipotent. But I cannot pursue these general reflections, which are out of place when uttered here. Our right on each side grew out of the Constitution, and I am willing to abide by its stipulations and compromises without re-opening for controversy questions which were definitively settled by its adoption. Slavery being recognized by the Constitution, and provision made for its perpetuation and extension in the clauses referred to, I consider all the parties to it, according to every known principle of legal construction, as estopped by the record from assailing it by word or act.

The people of the North could with much more propriety assail any other species of property held under the municipal laws of the several States; for, with two exceptions, viz: the right of authors and inventors "to their respective writings and discoveries," the Constitution does not recognize the private rights of property, in the property in property in the p

without the exercise of its legitimate authority over the Territories, leaving them subject to the Constitution of the United States, which is "the supreme law of the land;" to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, "made under the authority of the United States, which is be under the authority of the United States, which is the supreme law of the land; to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, "made under the authority of the United States," and to the local laws of the Territories, leaving the man, whose fame is now the fame of his country, of which you, and I, and all of us are the guardians.

In his annual message of December 25th, 1848, the last official communication embracing this subject, we find his views stated with the dignity and States," and to the local laws of the Territories, leaving the market authority of the United States, "and to the local laws of the Territories, leaving the market authority of the United States, which is "the subject to the Constitution Slaves were regarded as a kind of property, and were therefore singled out by the Constitution from the constitution does writings and discoveries," the Constitution does not recognize the private rights of property, nor stepper to recognize the private rights of property, nor term the person of the character of that eminent states are recognized to recognize the private rights of property, nor term to recognize the private rights of property, nor term to recognize the private rights of property, nor term to recognize the private rights of property, nor term to recognize the private rights of property, nor term to recognize the private rights of property, nor term to recognize the private rights of property, nor term to recognize the private rights of property, nor term to recognize the private rights of the constitution described in an action of the constitution to recognize the private rights of the constitution to the very stipulate for their protection, but leaves the mation of the constitution to recognize the private rights of the constitution to

protecting ægis around it.
Upon all these points, however, Northern resentatives pretend to differ with us, and insiupon the right to exclude the South from the con-mon property. It remains to be seen whether the South will meet the "California proviso," wit resistance, "at every hazard," and to the last et-tremity," as she did the "Wilmot Proviso." am unwilling to live under the Union without the am unwilling to live under the Union without the Constitution; the North cannot live and flourish without the Union. Much as they hate slavery, they love the Union more, and are willing to go no further in their aggressions than is consistent with its duration. This is strikingly illustrated in the history of the "Wilmot Proviso."

Upon the first in roduction of that measure in the 29th Congress, it received the sanction of this House, as it did at every succeeding session until the present. Within a few days past it has been laid upon the table by the votes of those known

the present. Within a few days past it has been laid upon the table by the votes of those known to be pledged to the exclusion of slavery from every foot of the common domain. This is a movement to clude Southern resistance and save the Union. They clung with iron tenacity to this favorite measure, until convinced that the choice was between the Proviso and the Union; and then true to their instincts, they chose the latter. But the South has not gained the battle. The enemy renew the assault. Our only safety now is

renew the assault. Our only safety now is in standing to our arms.

They have deposed their old leaders—Hale, Seward, and Giddings—and rallied under the banner of "the hero that never surrenders." Upon that banner is inscribed, "the Union without the Constitution." As the Roundheads of Cromwell, Constitution." As the Roundheads of Cromwell, when they charged the foe, were ordered to sing hosannas to the King of Hosts, they shout hosannas to "the Union," and for the same reasons. They know it is a word of inspiration to every American citizen, calling up memories full of glory and grandeur—a word of idolatrous worship, engraven upon the altar of our political temple. As the Persians fall prostrate before the rising sun, so we are expected to bow to the omnipotence of a word. I greatly mistake the character of our people, and underrate their intelligence, if a recollection of past glories can make them insensible to present shame. Not all the ligence, if a recollection of past glories can make them insensible to present shame. Not all the prestige which clusters around the brow of the military hero, nor the charmed sway of the word "Union," can lull the people of the South into submission. The wrongs practised under this Union have induced them to reflect upon its operations, and to inquire whether, in the course of events, its dissolution would be promotive of their security and happiness or otherwise. Without extinguishing the love of the South for the Union, these reflections have led to the opinion that we have within ourselves all the elements of Union, these reflections have led to the opinion that we have within ourselves all the elements of wealth, prosperity and national power, which, under a separate confederation, would be developed with unexampled rapidity.

With a territory of more than eight hundred thousand square miles, and a population of nine millions, we would at least be more respectable in

dimensions and numbers than were our an of 1776, at the commencement of the revolu contest and, if the worst calmines resulte dissolution, would not have a sturdier foe to encounter nor a more protracted triumph over oppression. But there would be no cause of war, in the event of separation: as our Northern neighbors would be no longer responsible for the "sin of slavery," of course they would let us alone, in our harmless pursuit of happiness and prosperity. Our policy would not induce us to have much connection with them. Manufacturing skill is more advanced and labor cheaper in Old than in New England; and the latter would be consequently relieved from the manufacture annually of 500,000 bags of Southern cotton, as a direct communication would immediately spring up between our

now return to us directly, but much the larger por-tion reach us indirectly through the ports of the Morth, and are there taxed with the operous pro-

Morth, and are there taxed with the onerous profits of capitalists, importers, merchants, ship-owners, and others, who thus mainly subsist upon Southern labor.

This unnatural course of trade is one of the effects of the Union, and, in the absence of its commercial regulations, the natural laws of trade would resume their ascendency, and the services of the commercial classes of the North be no longer required. Her tonnage now is inconsiderable, and her shipping would be insufficient for the great demands of our exports and imports; but the English ship-owners would underbid those of the North, who would not be required to serve us in this way.

in this way.

What would be the effects of all this upon the

What would be the effects of all this upon the great commercial marts now revelling in oppulence?—upon her flourishing manufacturing towns, swelling into the importance of cities?—upon her vast tonnage, increasing with the increase of Southern productions? I leave these to be answered by the demagogue who, in the event of dissolution, would be doomed to howl forever amid the desolation he will have caused.

The Federal Government raises annually from imports more than thirty millions of dollars which go into the national treasury, and indirectly an immense sum is levied upon the South for the benefit of Northern manufacturers. This revenue is expended chiefly in the North; and while the South pays tribute to this Government, she is scarcely permitted to share in the largess.

Under a separate Southern Confederation, we would be relieved of these burdens; the wealth of our soil would accumulate in the hands of its natural proprietors, to be expended within our own limits in works of utility and taste.

Our monopoly of the valuable staples of cotton, tobacc, sugar, and rice, would insure us the chief control of the commerce of the world. Our natural facilities of inlercommunication would invite an extended internal commerce. Holding the mouth of the Mississippi, and the most important part of its navigable trunk, all the produce of the mouth of the Mississippi, and the most important part of its navigable trunk, all the produce of the ocean through its channel, would pay us tribute. Cuba, with her institution of slavery and kindred sympathies, is ready to spring into our embrace, and a field of indefinite extension invites us South and West of the Rio Grande. With these views of future wealth and grandeur lightening up the path of our destiny, can you believe that we fear to tread it alone? When these points, barely noticed in my remarks, are fully elaborated in all their amplitude before the Southern Convention to assemble in Nashville in June next, can you doubt the unanimity of the South? I believe that love o ussion of these topics?

The objects of this convention are to maint the rights of the South, under the Constituti and save the Unions but I submit to the consider the rights of the South, under the Constitution, and save the Union; but I submit to the consideration of the representatives of the North, if it would not be better, by a timely display of magnanimity on their part, to concede the one object, and thereby accomplish the other, without forcing us to this perilous expedient? The meeting of this convention is decreed by the irreversible voice of the people, unless the action of Congress, in due time, remove the causes of present complaint and future apprehension; and whilst I avow its object to be conservative, I should be wanting in candor were I not to declare that it may lead to other and far different results. The intense excitement of the public mind is comparatively powerless now, because of the diversity of views in regard to the proper remedy for the mischief. But this heat is favorable to fusion of mind upon subordinate details, and the recommendations of the convention are not likely to meet with a cold reception from the masses, especially if they are extreme or revolutionary. Their effect will be to consecrate the public mind upon an organized plan of action, which will be carried into execution with a celerity and energy which no opposition dare to encounter.

The meeting of the Convention will be preceded

by popular elections for delegates; occurring about the same time throughout the whole South. In setrangement of the people from the Union will necessarily be introduced, and augment, without measure, the present excitement. With these measure, the present exchement. With these causes of aggravation, who can estimate the force of the pressure from without upon this convention? The Continental Congress of '76 were swept on by the storm of popular excitement to the declaration of American Independence, which forever dissolved our union with Great Britain. The acts claration of American Independence, which forever dissolved our union with Great Britain. The acts of insult and injury which kindled the fires of the revolution were trivial, in comparison with those which now inflame the public mind of the South. Have our people forgotten the memorable declaration, that "when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security?" I warn the North, that the living truth here uttered animates every Southern heart, and that every voice in that Convention will proclaim it; that millions of the throw of the security of the South resound with the anthem. Do not deflude yourselves with the fatal error, that the resistance of the South is confined to one form of aggression—the Wilmot Provise; and that your objects can be accomplished by adopting the substitute proposed by the Cabinet. The same resistance will be offered to the admission of California. We know that the latter measure would be followed by immediate results more injurious to us than the application of the Wilmot Provise to all the Territories of the Union, Representation in both branches of Congress would instantly follow its admission, and two additional Free-soil Senators would give efficient aid in extending this favored principle to our remaining territory. The strict balance of power no longer exists in the Senate, but with the aid of a few heroic friends from the non-slaveholding States, that theatre has heretofore been doubtful battle-ground. But with any accession to the States, that theatre has heretofore been doubtfue battle-ground. But with any accession to the strength of the North, the parliamentary struggle could be no longer maintained. From this con sideration alone, the present add determined and unmeasured

Will the representatives of the North atte Will the representatives of the North attempt, by the power of numbers, to outrage the Constitution and degrade the South by the admission of this Territory as a State, without the offer of some equivalent? I suggest to them to remember that we are sworn to support the Constitution, and could scarcely sit in tame acquiescence and witness its open and shameful violation. The attempted consummation of such an act would be the overthrow of the Constitution which the people we represent would resist by force of arms. We are here as the representatives of the people, but our obligations to the Constitution and the South less than those of other individual citizens, who, in the aggregate are the people? We assume additional obligations when we come as representawho, in the aggregate are the people? We assume additional obligations when we come as representatives; but we are relieved from those which rested upon us as private citizens? My individual opinion is, that if the Southern people ought to resist a measure of aggression, after its consummation, we here are under the same or a higher obligation to resist its consummation. These suggestions of threats or menace. to resist its consummation. These suggestions are made, not in the nature of threats or menace I do not underrate the firmness of the North; as a matter of discretion, it is always proper to assumthat your antagonist is firm, even if the fact b matter of discretion, it is always proper to assume that your antagonist is firm, even if the fact be doubtful. But the course proper to be pursued in any and every event is for the determination of Southern members. I am willing to suggest, and if my course is not approved, to follow any path of honor which may be pointed out by those who are older and wiser. I trust that we shall stand together as one man, and present

Power or Interest .- The island which no constitutes the city and county of New York, was purchased of the Indians in 1626, for twenty four dollars! This seems cheap: yet if that sum had question, I shall insist not only upon the abstract right, but the actual assufruct of the South in this common property; and I acknowledge no party obligations which can restrain me in demanding both. No dangers which threaten the dissolution of parties or of the Union are terrible enough to justify a further sacrifice on our part. I appeal to the Constitution, and demand for my section the right to carry negro slaves upon the land of which

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36---30.

For the purpose of perfecting a complete adjustment of the present difficulty and obrights under the Constitution, we contend that the u'timatum of South—the last resort-should be the Missouri Compromise of 36 deg. 30 m. It is so recommended by the Nashville Convention, and we are pleased to see that the suggestion meets with a generally favorable reception by the people of the South. It is true that this is a concession too great to be agreeable to many, but the fact that it has already been agreed to, in former years, and in a similar case, is a far greater argument in favor of this plan of settling the present difficulty than is genprecedent, and the solemn sanction of a treaty between the two great sections of the Union. It is but a fresh recognition of a principle which is already established, and which formerly received the unqualified as-sent of the American people. There is no forfeiture of honor on the part of the South in accepting what she has already accepted under similar circumstances, and for the attainment of a similar object.

But not only does the Missouri Compronise come to us sanctioned by the Nashville Convention, but it will, in its adoption, settle the present alarming difficulty, and re-store peace and a fraternal feeling between the now opposing sections. Run the line through to the Pacific Ocean, and it can go no farther.

All the territory on one side is ours, to be in the possession, if they choose to settle upon it, of Southern men with their property of every description. No new schemes of injustice—no fresh demands can then be made upon us by the North. "Finality" will be given to the question—the evil of the day—the great hobby of the fanatics.—
Free Soilism will receive a deadly wound a perfect quietus, and the foul spirit of Abolitionism will skulk away derided and despised, from the councils of the Nation .-The five bleeding wounds which the Committee of Thirteen have been so long vainly endeavoring to heal, and the "broken arm," which the old doctor in the Washington Republic has so assiduously desired to "set," neglecting the other wounded members, will be made whole in the twinkling of an eye!

In view of the henefits likely to result, we would hesitate long before we disapproved of this plan of settlement, or pronounced it impolitic or unwise on our part to act in reference to its adoption. It is a platform for all to unite upon—it is nothing new—it secures our rights against any farther inva-sion. The Southern States can stand by this for the Union-for it they can stand without the Union. It is truly a position of impregnable strength.

Willis and Forrest-Legal Procedings.

We have already stated, among our law ntelligence, that Mr. Willis had com-The meeting of the Convention will be preceded menced legal proceedings against Mr. Forrest, for the assault committed by the latter on the former, in Washington Square, on Monday last, in which the damages are set down at ten thousand dollars, or some other nominal sum between that and a million. Some intimations were held out from some quarters, based principally on the remarks of Mr. Willis before the police, that a duel might grow out of the affair, or at least a journey to Canada, for some such belligerent purpose. We perceive, however, that the fashion has changed within the last twenty years, very considerably, in New York, and that men of fashion do not now think of fighting with pistols when they can make war against each other with pettifoggers. Well, it is perhaps as good a course o take as any other.

As far as Mr. Forrest is concerned, we believe he received the intimations of such a suit being commenced against him, with feelings of great delight and satisfaction. On the trial, the unfortunate artist will have an opportunity of bringing forward all the evidence in reference to the unhappy diffi-culties which caused him to proceed to the extremity which he did in Washington Square-an extremity which we by means justify-which was contrary to law, and cannot be approved of, whatever may be its terrible aggravation, or the agonizing feeling which caused him to adopt such a course. Indeed, this affair between Forrest and the coterie of male dandies who were around Mrs. Forrest while he was on professional journeys, will be brought forward. and the whole evidence given to the world, from the beginning to the end-from alpha to omega. Only a portion, and a small por-tion, of the evidence has yet appeared in the public journals—that which was given to the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Sinca that time, new, stronger, more powerful, more startling evidence, of a remarkabl character, has voluntarily come forth and been furnished to Mr. Forrest, with additional facts, which will, when placed before this or any other community, tend to set the matter in a most important tive to him as an injured man, and the fashionable scoundrels who tresspassed on his grounds, his home, and his house during his periods of absence.

This is, indeed, a lamentable and melancholly affair. We mean not to say a single word calculated to do in justice to any one. We have seen much, and read much, and heard much, and we have reason to believe that some of the most astounding revelations will yet come on this community, like a thunder in clap, for which few will be prepared, and of which few will be able to resist. The spoilers of Edwin Forrest's happiness have been a clique of personages who ought to be scouted, cut, denounced, and turned out of decent society in a Christian and moral community. We have had too much of these foreign immoralities, under the name of fashion, introduced into our simple social system on this continent, and it is time for an